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THE TREATY RELATIONS OF RUSSIA & TURKEY. 1774-1853

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A LECTURE

ON

THE TREATY RELATIONS OF RUSSIA AND TURKEY

FROM 1774 TO 1853

47311

DELIVERED AT OXFORD

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WITH AN APPENDIX OF TREATIES

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THE Treaty of Paris has at length ceased to bear the strain of altered circumstances; and Russia, by her declaration of war, has again taken up the attitude which one and twenty years ago she was obliged to abandon.

Once more she stands face to face with the Ottoman Empire, as she stood before the Eastern question was taken under the joint supervision of the Great Powers: and it is natural that those who wish to predict her conduct in the future should turn to the record of her conduct while she occupied a similar position in the past.

It is the fashion to speak of the Crimean war as a political blunder. It cannot however be denied to have been a complete diplomatic success. It tore up a series of Treaties under which Russia had gradually acquired a special right of interference in the affairs of Turkey.

By the Treaty of Paris the Czar was remitted to such rights only against the Porte as he possessed irrespectively of convention; and in the exercise even

of these he was subjected to new disabilities. These disabilities have since been partially removed; but the rights of Russia, as against the Porte, remain as they were defined in 1856, and those which she enjoyed previously to 1853 have never been recovered.

The system of Treaties which for three quarters of a century had regulated the relations of the two Empires became thus of no effect; but some acquaintance with that system, its antecedents and its surviving consequences, is indispensable to an understanding of the politics of the present day. The Treaties in question are indeed important, not only as marking epochs in the external history of Russia and Turkey, but also as registering the gradual growth of pretensions which were none the less kept in view because their diplomatic expression received a check.

The period to which I propose to ask your attention lies between the years 1774, the date of the Treaty of Kutschouc-Kainardji, and 1853, the date of the outbreak of the Crimean war.

Before that period there had been numerous conventions between the two powers, but they were all expressly cancelled by the Treaty of Kainardji.

During the period in question, the two countries were often at war, but peace was always concluded upon the basis of that great Treaty.

An identity of purpose runs through the whole series of Treaties which we are about to examine. Their aim is—the aggrandisement of Russian territory, and the assertion of a special Russian protectorate over the Christian provinces of Turkey. The idea of the Treaty of Paris is the negation of both of these claims.

Such an account of the system of Treaties preceding the Crimean war as I propose to lay before you can hardly be otherwise than dry. I shall be content if it is nevertheless of use.

My object is not polemical, but merely expository; and I shall speak rather of the Treaties themselves, of which, strange as it may seem, it is not very easy to get a complete and accurate view, than of the more accessible history of the political events of which they were results.

It was nearly three centuries after the Ottoman Turks had entered Europe before they came into direct contact with the Russians. The first alliance between the two powers was made in 1633. Their first war began in 1677, and was closed in 1681, after the Moslem fashion, by a truce for twenty years. It was however only two years later that the Turks, on the invitation of the Protestant malcontents of Hungary, began a war with Austria, which soon

developed into a war with many other German states, with Venice, with Poland, and with Russia also, and was concluded in 1699 by the general peace of Carlowitz. Of the many territorial losses in which Turkey was at this time obliged to acquiesce, not the least important was that of the town and neighbourhood of Asof, the cession of which to Peter the Great gave him the port which he had long coveted for his Black Sea fleet.

The peace of Carlowitz, as between Turkey and Russia, was a truce for two, subsequently extended to thirty, years, upon the principle of the *uti possidetis*.

Numerous wars were waged during the early half of the eighteenth century between Russia and Turkey, by no means always to the advantage of the former. Thus, by the peace of Falczi (1711) Peter the Great had the mortification of being obliged to purchase his own safety and that of his army by restoring Asof to the Porte; and by the Treaty of Belgrade (1739), which was observed between the Porte and Austria for half a century[1], and between the Porte and Russia for thirty years, that town was to be demolished and deserted.

[1] Though only made between these parties for twenty-seven years, and not formally renewed. Schoell, vol. xiv. p. 399. The first 'perpetual peace' between the Porte and Russia is that of 1720, which also stipulates for a permanent Embassy at Constantinople. Schoell, vol. xiv. p. 298. See also an article by M. Rolin-Jaequemyns in the *Revue de Droit International* for 1876, p. 305.

In 1768 a war began which was to produce more permanent diplomatic results. The Porte, at the instigation of the French Ambassador, complained of certain circumstances connected with the partition of Poland, and declared war against Russia. Into the story of that war, the exploits of Romanzow and Dolgorouki, the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Tchesmé by a Russian fleet which had sailed round from the Baltic, the revolts of Syria, Egypt and Greece, it is impossible to enter. The struggle continued till the Grand Vizier was surrounded at Schumla, and begged for peace, which was concluded on July 10, 1774, by the Treaty of KUTSCHOUC-KAINARDJI[1].

At this point begins the series, or system, of Treaties which we are about to consider. The other great names of the series—Jassy, Bucharest, Ackerman, and Adrianople, one and all have this characteristic in common: the Treaty of Kutschouc-Kainardji is the text, upon which they are but commentaries.

This being the case, it is of course highly important to get a clear idea of the general scope of this model Treaty, and to discriminate between the various classes of topics with which it attempts to deal.

In examining a Treaty of peace, it is proper to distinguish—

[1] q. v. *in extenso*, p. 36, *infra*.

1. Such recitals and articles as have to do with the circumstances under which it was made, and define its general purport.

2. Such articles as are of a purely temporary character, those e.g. for exchange of ratifications, for cessation of hostilities, for evacuation of occupied territory, for amnesty.

3. What are curiously enough called '*articles* '*transitoires*,' because they operate irrevocably and once for all, though the result of their operation is permanent. Of this character are cessions of territory and definitions of boundaries.

4. Articles which create obligations; i.e. rights and duties, which will continue to subsist for an indefinite period.

And it must be remembered that 'transitory 'articles,' operating once for all, are not affected, as is the case with most articles creating obligations, by the subsequent outbreak of war between the contracting parties.

The Treaty of Kainardji contains twenty-eight articles. There is something of victorious arrogance in the recital — that it is made 'in the tent of the 'Commander-in-Chief, Field Marshal Count de Rou-'manzow, near the village of Kutschouc-Kainardji, 'upon the right bank of the Danube.'

The Porte promises to recognise the Russian sovereign as Empress, or 'Padischag' (Art. 13).

Unlike most of the earlier Treaties between the two powers, it is no truce, but a 'perfect and perpetual 'peace[1].'

Unlike the later Treaties, to which we shall come presently, it makes a clean sweep of all that has gone before: 'The two Emperors have agreed to annihilate, 'and leave in an eternal oblivion, all the Treaties and 'conventions heretofore made between the two States, 'including therein the convention of Belgrade, with 'all those subsequent to it; and never to put forth 'any claim grounded upon the said conventions' (Art. 22)[2].

Six articles are so purely temporary in their operation as not to need further notice.

Of the residue, eight effect a redistribution of territory; while ten create obligations to pursue certain lines of conduct.

Russia gives up most of the territory which she had overrun. She restores to Turkey Bessarabia, Wallachia and Moldavia, and the islands of the Archipelago (16); retaining however Kinburn, Jenikale, Kertsch, and Asof, with their adjacent districts (18–20).

[1] The Treaties of 1720 and 1739 were also for 'perpetual peace.'

[2] Except the definitions of the boundary of the territory of Asof contained in the convention of Constantinople of 1700.

On the Asiatic side Russia will evacuate Georgia, and will not in future meddle with its inhabitants, 'as 'the said people are subjects of the Sublime Porte;' which however renounces its claim to exact from them a tribute of children (23).

The Tartars are henceforth to be an independent nation, governed by their own Khan; except that they shall, 'as to the ceremonies of religion, regulate 'themselves with respect to the Sultan in his capacity 'of grand caliph of Mahometanism, according to the 'precepts of their law' (3). The two Kabardas are to be united to Russia, only if the consent of the Khan can be obtained (21).

The net result of these territorial provisions is—that Turkish territory, instead of encircling the Black Sea, is bounded on the north-east by the river Boug. The Tartars east of this river, instead of being subject to the Porte, are, except in spiritual matters, an independent nation; while the most important positions on their seaboard have passed into the hands of Russia.

As to the obligations, positive and negative, created by the Treaty.

We may pass without remark several articles dealing with questions of detail, such as—extradition (2), settlement of boundary disputes (15), the right of either party to construct fortresses (4), and the in-

fluence which the Porte is to bring to bear upon the African Regencies (12).

The really important articles of this class are those which stipulate for a Russian Embassy at Constantinople, for good treatment of Christians, and for freedom of commercial navigation.

I. There is to be a permanent Russian Embassy, the staff of which is to be protected (5, 6, 9); and besides the chapel of the Minister, a new church of the Greek rite may be built at Galata, which is to be under his protection, and on behalf of which and of its clergy he may at all times make representations, which are to be taken into friendly consideration by the Porte (7, 14). The Porte engages always to protect the Christian religion and its churches (7), and to permit pilgrimages (8).

These are the stipulations which Lord Clarendon declared to have become, 'by a wrongful interpretation, the principal cause' of the Crimean war[1]. Russia had construed the right of interference granted to her on behalf of a given church, to be erected in a given street at Galata, as a right of interference on behalf of the Greek Church in Turkey generally.

II. The islands of the Archipelago and the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia are restored to the Porte only upon conditions for their better treatment. The permanent stipulations with reference

[1] *Eastern Papers*, xi. p. 2.

to the Principalities provide—for the toleration of Christianity, for respect to be paid to clergy, for future good treatment and moderate taxation, and that each province may have a (Greek) Christian *chargé d'affaires* at the Porte; and these functionaries, 'notwithstanding their comparative want of import-'ance, shall be considered as persons enjoying an 'international position, that is to say, as protected 'from all violence.'

The resident Minister of Russia may, as circumstances require, make representations with respect to the Principalities, which shall be favourably listened to by the Porte (16).

III. As to commerce, there is to be unimpeded navigation for the merchant ships of both powers in all the seas which wash their shores. The Porte will open the navigation of the Danube. It will also permit consuls to be stationed throughout its territory, and both powers will allow traders to traverse their dominions by sea and land (11).

The permanently important provisions of this Treaty may be summarised as follows:—

1. The Tartars were released from allegiance to Turkey, and brought under Russian influence.

2. Russia obtained a firm footing on the north coasts of the Black Sea; pushing back the Turkish frontier to the river Boug.

3. The frontier line between the two powers in Asia was left much as it was before the war.

4. Russia stipulated for an Embassy at Constantinople, and for certain privileges for Christians in Turkey.

5. She exacted promises for the better government of the Principalities; reserving a right of remonstrance if those promises were not kept.

6. She obtained a declaration of her right of free commercial navigation in Turkish waters.

It will be found that all subsequent controversies between the Porte and Russia may be referred to one or other of the six heads to which I have reduced the topics dealt with by the Treaty of Kutschouc-Kainardji.

Of the six topics, that relating to the Tartars was the first to give rise to new difficulties and to receive a final settlement.

In 1779 a *convention explicative* was needed to define the supremacy reserved over them by the Porte as being of a purely spiritual character[1]; and in 1783 Catherine summarily disposed of all doubts upon the subject by a ukase annexing the Tartars to the Empire of Russia[2]. The Porte was obliged for

[1] Schoell, vol. xiv. p. 438; Martens, R. 2. ii. p. 653. There were conventions of 1781 and 1782 as to alleged violations of the Bosphorus by Russian war-ships.

[2] April 8, 1783. On June 21, 1783, a Treaty of Commerce was signed; q. v. in Martens, R. 2. iii. p. 615.

the moment to acquiesce in this proceeding, and even to confirm it by a convention of the following year[1]; but in 1787 declared war.

The struggle was indeed inevitable. Catherine of Russia, who dreamed of reviving the Byzantine Empire in favour of her second grandson Constantine[2], and Joseph II, who was anxious, as he said, 'to 'revenge mankind on these barbarians,' had planned to divide between them the inheritance of the Turks.

Great however as were the military successes of the allies, they had but little permanent result. Partly in consequence of the jealousy of the maritime powers, and partly on account of the threatening attitude of France, Austria handed back Servia to the Porte by the peace of Sistova in 1791, and Russia in the following year resigned those provinces of the lower Danube which had been won for it by the ruthless Suarrow[3].

This was by the Treaty of Perpetual Peace signed at JASSY on January 9, 1792[4]. It confirms the Treaty of Kainardji and the *convention explicative;* but the

[1] Jan. 8, 1784. Martens, R. 2. iii. p. 707.

[2] The idea was encouraged by Potemkin, who took care that Catherine, in the course of a progress through Kherson, should pass under a triumphal arch inscribed: 'This is the road to Byzantium.'

[3] It was expected that Servia would remain under Austrian rule; but though Prussia inclined to this, England and Holland opposed, and at last all the powers, intent only on the balance of power against France, urged the Peace of Sistova, Aug. 4, 1791. Martens, R. v. p. 244.

[4] It contains thirteen articles, of which six (8—13) are temporary.

Porte recognises the annexation of the Tartars (Art. 6), and the Russian frontier is advanced to the Dniester. The obligatory clauses have reference to the Danubian Principalities and to commerce. By article 4 Moldavia is restored on condition that the Porte carries out the stipulations of the Treaty of Kutschouc-Kainardji and the *convention explicative*. Article 7 declares that 'trade is the most lasting bond of harmony,' and accordingly confirms the commercial Treaty of 1783.

The aggressions of France, which had much to do with bringing about this Treaty, before long so altered the relations of the Eastern powers that in 1798 Russia and Turkey signed a Treaty of alliance for eight years[1]. Their fleets sailed out of the Dardanelles in company, and operated together against the French in the Hadriatic. Russia made peace in 1801, but the Porte, slow to forgive the invasion of Egypt, did not do so for a year later[2].

When France and Russia were again at war in 1805, Turkey hesitated between them, till Austerlitz inclined the balance in favour of Napoleon, when the Porte acknowledged his title of 'Emperor,' and submitted itself to the guidance of his ambassador, Sebastiani[3].

[1] On Dec. 23, 1798, Great Britain acceded by a Treaty of Jan. 5, 1799. Martens, R. 2. vi. p. 532.

[2] Till June 25, 1802.

[3] He was sent out in the summer of 1806.

Under that guidance it rejected the demands, which it had almost conceded, of the insurgent Servians, and, without consulting Russia (as it was bound to do[1]), deposed Ypsilanti and Moruzzi, the Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia. Russia demanded redress, but without waiting for a reply, in October, 1806, invaded the Principalities. The Porte declared war in the following January, and remained firm in its resolution, though Admiral Duckworth with the English fleet threatened Constantinople. Sebastiani assisted to put the capital in a state of defence[2], and Napoleon declared that 'he and the Grand Signor 'were as inseparable as the right and left hands.'

It is well known that the Treaties of Tilsit contained very contradictory provisions with reference to the Danubian Principalities[3]. By the patent Treaty, Napoleon stipulated for their restoration to Turkey; and an armistice was accordingly concluded at Slobosia between Russia and the Porte[4]. By the secret Treaty, on the other hand, Russia was to take Wallachia and Moldavia as her share of the spoil[5]. The true nature

[1] By the Hatti-Scherif of Sept. 22, 1802.

[2] 'L'Ambassadeur de France est en même temps le premier ministre et le connêtable du grand Seigneur.' Bignon, t. vi. p. 193.

[3] Martens, R. 2. viii. p. 639.

[4] Aug. 4, 1807. Martens, R. 2. viii. p. 689.

[5] It is said that Alexander asked to be allowed to take Constantinople also, 'the key of his house;' and that Napoleon refused, muttering: 'Never; it is the empire of the world.'

of the understanding between Napoleon and Alexander, commenced at Tilsit and confirmed at Erfurt, was fully revealed when, at the conference of Jassy (1809), Russia demanded the cession of the two Principalities and the expulsion from Constantinople of the Ambassador of Great Britain[1]. The terms were refused, and the armistice came to an end.

The renewal of hostilities between France and Russia in 1812 was the signal for peace between the latter power and the Porte. The Turks were not sorry of an opportunity of repaying Napoleon's abandonment of their cause by refusing to coöperate with his Moscow expedition, and were only too glad to recover the Danubian Principalities (which they had looked upon as irretrievably lost), sacrificing only Bessarabia.

With this arrangement the Emperor Alexander was also fain to be content, in order to be free to concentrate his strength against the French.

The Treaty of Peace was signed at BUCHAREST, on May 28, 1812. Its ratification by the Porte was largely due to the exertions of the present Lörd Stratford de Redcliffe, who at that date, now sixty-five years ago, had already attained the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary at Constantinople.

[1] On January 5, 1809, the Porte signed a Treaty with Great Britain. Martens, R. 2. vi. p. 568.

It proclaims perpetual peace, and confirms the previous Treaties (1 and 3).

Of its sixteen articles, nine are temporary (2, 7, 9–11, 13–16).

The territorial arrangements are a return to the *status quo*; except that the Russian boundary is henceforth to be the Pruth, to its entrance into the Danube, and from that point the left bank of the Danube down to its entrance into the Black Sea by the Kilia mouth. The 'great islands' are to be left vacant (4, 6)[1].

Of the more important obligatory stipulations, article 5 provides for the due observance of the Treaties of Kainardji and Jassy with reference to Moldavia and Wallachia[2].

Article 8 deals for the first time with Servia; reciting that 'there can be no doubt that the Porte, in 'accordance with its principles, will show kindness to 'the Servians, as a people long subject and tributary 'to it,' but going on to state that it has nevertheless been thought proper, 'in consideration of the share 'which the Servians have taken in the war, to make a 'solemn agreement for their safety.' The Porte therefore promises that while it will continue to garrison the strong places, it will allow to the Servians 'such

[1] The Turkish population of Bessarabia mostly emigrated.

[2] This article confirms article 4 of the Treaty of Jassy.

'liberties as are enjoyed by the islands of the Archi-'pelago; and, as a token of its generosity, will leave to 'them the administration of their internal affairs.'

By article 12, the Porte will carry out carefully the Commercial Treaty with reference to the Barbary coast[1].

For some time after the fall of Napoleon the politics of St. Petersburg gave no encouragement to discontented nationalities. Alexander refused to support either the revolt of Ypsilanti in Moldavia or the insurrection in Greece. Nicholas, who succeeded him in 1825, was of a different stamp, and lost no time in complaining of the occupation by the Porte of Wallachia and Moldavia, and other violations of the Treaty of Bucharest. His grievances were detailed in an *ultimatum* of eighty-two articles, and the Porte, having just slaughtered the Janissaries, and being therefore in no condition for resistance, on the mediation of England and Austria, professed to concede all his demands by the convention of ACKERMAN, signed on October 7, 1826[2].

This Treaty purports to be 'destined to determine 'the manner of putting in force all the articles of the 'Treaty of Bucharest, which have not been executed

[1] Referring to the Treaty of Jassy, art. 7.

[2] Martens, N. R. vol. vi. p. 1053. The Duke of Wellington vainly endeavoured to prevent the Emperor from exerting this pressure on the Porte. *Despatches, Second Series*, vol. iii. p. 159.

'by the Porte since 1812 .. to assure and revive all the 'privileges which Moldavia and Wallachia and Servia 'ought to enjoy under the guardianship of the Cabinet 'of St. Petersburg[1].'

Of its eight articles three are temporary or unimportant.

As to territory, the fourth article applies to the Asiatic boundary the principle of the *uti possidetis;* and the provisions of the Treaty of Bucharest as to the great islands of the Danube having proved unworkable, the Porte, by article 2, agrees to the proposals made with reference to them by a conference held in 1817.

The important obligatory articles relate to the Danubian Principalities and to commerce.

By article 3, the Porte promises to carry out article 5 of the Treaty of Bucharest with reference to Wallachia and Moldavia, to renew in six months the Hatti-Scherifs of 1802, and to supplement them by certain provisions contained in an annexed Act, relating mainly to the election of the Hospodars by the Boyards for seven years, and the necessity of previous notice to Russia before they can be deposed by the Porte[2].

By article 5, the Porte agrees to execute the eighth article of the Treaty of Bucharest with reference to

[1] Art. 3 confirms the Treaty of Bucharest upon this point. [2] Act 1.

Servia; 'which being *ab antiquo* subject and tributary 'to the Sublime Porte, ought to experience on every 'occasion the effects of its clemency and generosity.'

Privileges will therefore be granted to it, 'the 'enjoyment of which,' it is said, 'will be at once the 'fitting recompense and the best guarantee of the 'fidelity of which that nation has given proof to the 'Ottoman Empire.' A Hatti-Scherif is to be issued within eighteen months, in conformity with an annexed Act which provides for the concession to 'cette nation fidèle et soumise' of the right of independent interior administration, and prohibits the residence of Mussulmans in Servia, except in the garrison towns.

The seventh article is a confirmation of the Treaty of Commerce of 1783, and of the Treaties of Jassy (7) and Bucharest (12), and contains further stipulations in favour of Russian trade and navigation.

It is not surprising that a convention which the Porte had no intention of keeping[1] was soon broken. Besides giving other grounds of complaint, the Turks refused to acknowledge the independence of Greece[2],

[1] It was declared in a Hatti-Scherif of December 1827 that these negotiations were only intended to gain time for preparation for war.

[2] The battle of Navarino on Oct. 20, 1827, enraged the Porte, which refused to recognise the new settlement of Greece; and although the Ambassadors of the three Powers left Constantinople, refused to carry out the Treaty of Ackerman, and issued the offensive Firman.

and in April, 1828, Russia declared war. Then, after a first unsuccessful campaign, at which the Emperor Nicholas was himself present, came the wonderful march into the heart of Roumelia of Diebitsch, the 'crosser-of-the-Balkans,' and the Treaty which he dictated at ADRIANOPLE.

This Treaty, signed on September 14, 1829, is one of 'perpetual peace' (1); confirming the previous Treaties (15). Russia restores her conquests, including Adrianople and other places in Roumelia (2). The Pruth and Danube are to be, as before, the boundary between the two Empires; but the line is now to be drawn to the St. George's, instead of to the Kilia, mouth of the Danube; so that all the 'great islands,' which are however to be left unoccupied, are to become Russian territory (3).

On the side of Asia, the Russian title to Georgia, and other provinces of the Caucasus, is acknowledged; and the boundary line is to be drawn anew (4 and 9).

The Porte, by adhering to the Treaty of London of 1827, and the Act of March 22, 1829 (10), recognises the qualified independence of Greece.

Of the sixteen articles of the Treaty, six are of a temporary character[1], one of these relating to a war indemnity.

The articles creating permanent obligations relate

[1] viz., arts. 8, 11–14, 16.

to Wallachia and Moldavia, to Servia, and to commerce.

As to Wallachia and Moldavia, it is provided, by article 5, that since the two Principalities are placed under the suzerainty of the Porte, and since 'Russia 'has guaranteed their prosperity,' they are to retain the privileges more particularly set forth in a separate Act. By this Act, the Act annexed to the convention of Ackerman is confirmed, but the Hospodars are henceforth to be elected, not for seven years but for life, and are to have full liberty in managing the interior affairs of the Principalities. No Mussulman is to reside there; and those possessing landed property there must sell it within eighteen months. The Provinces are to be exempt from requisitions. Their tribute is to be somewhat increased. The Porte will sanction the administrative regulations made during the Russian occupation[1].

As to Servia, the Porte, having been prevented by circumstances from executing as yet article 5 of the Treaty of Ackerman[2], promises within one month to do so (6)[3].

The provisions for freedom of commerce contain, besides the usual stipulations for navigation by

[1] In 1831 an organic Statute was granted to Wallachia and Moldavia.

[2] With annexed Act 2.

[3] This promise was performed by Hatti-Scherifs of Oct. 1829, Aug. 1830, and Dec. 1838.

merchant vessels of the Black Sea and the Dardanelles, stipulations that Russian traders shall be under the exclusive jurisdiction of their own consuls, and that their ships shall not be liable to visitation by Turks, even when in Turkish harbours (7)[1].

Such was the Treaty which the Duke of Wellington thought must be regarded, by all the Powers of Europe, 'as the death-blow to the independence of the Ottoman 'Porte, and the forerunner of the dissolution and ex-'tinction of its power [2].'

With the Treaty of Adrianople ends the series of permanent and substantive conventions, made between the Porte and Russia only, during the period to which we have limited our enquiry. The remaining conventions of this period to which the two Powers were parties must not however be passed over in silence; although they were either mere suspensions and modifications of the Treaty of Adrianople, or were of merely temporary operation, or were not made between the Porte and Russia only.

Thus by the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, made in 1833, as the price paid by the Porte to Russia for saving Constantinople from the victorious army of Mehemet Ali, the Dardanelles were to be closed to the ships

[1] The Treaty contains in all sixteen articles, with two Acts.

[2] *Despatches, Second Series*, vol. iv.

of war of every other nation. This convention, though its operation was limited to eight years, was considered by Europe to have reduced Turkey almost to a position of vassalage to the Czar.

A Treaty signed at St. Petersburg in the following year, on January 29, is mainly explanatory of the Treaty of Adrianople. The first article interprets the fourth article of that Treaty, defining the Asiatic boundary of the two Empires.

By article 2 the Porte agrees within two months to fulfil its promise of formally recognising the constitution adopted for Wallachia and Moldavia during the Russian occupation of those provinces.

The third article relates merely to the mode of payment of moneys due from the Porte under the Treaty of Adrianople.

A convention signed at Constantinople[1] in 1836, on March 27, deals entirely with the payment of these same moneys.

The convention signed in 1849, on May 1, at Balta-Liman is a temporary measure, providing in an exceptional manner for the government of Wallachia and Moldavia for seven years; during which the constitutions of the Principalities were to be revised by commissions nominated for the purpose.

[1] Of three articles. There was a Treaty of Commerce of Balta-Liman of the year 1846.

Before the seven years had expired the whole system of Treaties by which Russia had gradually acquired the position of something like sole guardian of the Turkish Empire was destroyed by the Crimean war.

Symptoms had indeed not been wanting, previously to 1853, that the days of that exclusive guardianship were numbered. The settlement of the relations of the Porte to the Pasha of Egypt, which in 1833 had been undertaken by Russia alone, were in 1840 judged to be of common concern to all the great Powers; and the two Treaties of London, of 1840 and 1841, were unmistakeable assertions of the determination of Europe that the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi should not be repeated.

We have now traced the historical development of the system of Treaties which was in force between Russia and Turkey in 1853; and was cancelled and superseded by the new settlement of affairs attempted by the Treaty of Paris.

In following the chronological order of events it is however hardly possible also to keep continuously in view the separate history of each of the subordinate questions which go to make up the Eastern Question as a whole.

Let us therefore revert for a moment to the Treaty of Kainardji, and see how each of the more important

of the questions dealt with in that Treaty have fared in the several conventions by which it was successively explained and expanded.

We have seen that the topics of permanent interest mapped out in that model or foundation Treaty were six in number.

Its provisions relate to:—1. The position of the Tartar nation; 2. The boundary-line between Turkey and Russia on the north of the Black Sea; 3. The boundary between the two Empires towards Asia; 4. The Russian Embassy at Constantinople, and the toleration of Christians in Turkey; 5. The better treatment of the Christian vassal States of the Porte; and 6. Freedom of trade and navigation.

1. The Tartars, whose independence was declared by the Treaty of Kutschouc-Kainardji, and the merely spiritual nature of whose dependence upon the Sultan was acknowledged by the *convention explicative* of 1779, were annexed to Russia by a ukase of 1783; and the arrangement, though repudiated during the war which broke out in 1787, was finally recognised at the Peace of Jassy in 1792.

2. By the Treaty of Kainardji, Russia gained lasting possession of detached ports on the Black Sea; such as Asof, Yenicale, Kertsch, and Kinburn; and generally pushed her frontier in those regions as far west as the river Boug. This frontier was advanced by the Treaty

of Jassy to the Dniester; and by the Treaty of Bucharest, 1812, to the Pruth and that part of the course of the Danube which lies between its confluence with the Pruth and its union with the Black Sea by its Kilia mouth.

The 'great islands' were to be left vacant.

The boundary-line thus drawn by the Treaty of Bucharest remained unchanged to the time of the Crimean war, except that by the Treaties of Ackerman and Adrianople the 'great islands' were thrown into the territory of Russia.

A new question of Turkish, though not also of Russian, boundary was introduced by that article (10) of the Treaty of Adrianople which records the adhesion of the Porte to the Treaty of London with reference to Greece[1].

3. On the side of Asia, the Treaty of Kainardji allowed the Khan to assent to the annexation to Russia of the two Kabardas, but Georgia and Mingrelia were expressly acknowledged to be subject to the Porte.

The Treaty of Jassy merely stipulates for *bon voisinage* in Asia. The Treaty of Bucharest returns

[1] The boundary-line was drawn by the Act signed at Constantinople on July 21, 1833, confirming the protocol of the conference of London of Feb. 3, 1830, which had declared Greece to be an absolutely independent State.

to the *status quo*, and the Treaty of Ackerman confirms the *uti possidetis*.

The Treaty of Adrianople recites that Georgia, Mingrelia, and other provinces of the Caucasus have long been in the possession of Russia, and gives to that Power the whole coast as far south as Port St. Nicholas, whence the frontier line trends inland, in a direction more particularly determined by the convention of 1834.

4. To the provisions of the Treaty of Kainardji —as to the Russian Embassy and its interpreters (5, 6, 9), as to the church to be built at Galata (7, 14), as to the facilities for pilgrimages to be granted by the Porte (8), and as to the general protection promised by the Porte to the Christian religion and its churches—no addition was made by the subsequent Treaties.

5. The conditions upon which the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were restored to the Turks by the Treaty of Kainardji (16) were substantially repeated in the *convention explicative* of 1779[1]. Their observance was also stipulated for by the Treaties of Jassy and Bucharest. The convention of Ackerman goes further. By it the Porte not only renews the

[1] Art. 7. By § 6 of this article Russia expressly confines the right of interference reserved for her by the Treaty of Kainardji to the five cases specified in the article.

promises made at Kainardji, but adds to them the provisions of a Hatti-Scherif of 1802 and those of a separate Act annexed to the convention, which allows the election of the Hospodars by the Boyards for seven years, and undertakes that they shall not be deposed during their term of office without due notice to Russia. By the Treaty of Adrianople the Hospodars are to hold office for life. The Turks are to retain no fortresses on the left bank of the Danube, and no Mussulman is to reside in the Principalities. The Porte resigns its right to contributions of corn and other necessaries, and to forced labour, and will sanction the administrative regulations made during the Russian occupation.

It will be remembered that the liberties of Servia are for the first time stipulated for by Russia in the Peace of Bucharest (8). It is to enjoy the administration of its own internal affairs. By the convention of Ackerman the Porte promises to carry out this arrangement, and to confine Mussulman residents to the garrison towns. By the Treaty of Adrianople the Porte renews this promise, which circumstances have as yet prevented it from executing, and will restore to the Principality six districts which had been taken from it (6).

6. Freedom of commercial navigation was proclaimed in the Treaty of Kainardji; and provisions to

the same effect were contained in the *convention explicative*, the Commercial Treaty of 1783, and the Treaties of Jassy, Bucharest, and Ackerman. The Treaty of Adrianople adds a stipulation that Russian ships shall not be visited even when in Turkish harbours.

I fear that I have been trying an experiment upon your patience, in addressing to a general audience an analysis of half-a-dozen Treaties; necessarily unaccompanied by any of those details,—strategic, social, diplomatic or biographical,—which, were the subject dealt with at length, might lend to it picturesqueness and life.

My apology must be my belief that Treaties are much more talked about than read; and that some precise knowledge of the Treaties to which I have asked your attention is just now highly desirable.

I have endeavoured to show that the time during which this system of Treaties was elaborated is no arbitrarily chosen chronological period, but a chapter of the history of the Eastern Question, having a very distinct character of its own, and succeeded by a chapter of a very different character.

The programme of Kutschouc-Kainardji, perseveringly pursued throughout the subsequent Treaties,

was—the gradual advance of Russian territory at the expense of Turkey, and the assumption by Russia of a special protectorate of the Christian vassal States of the Porte.

The programme of Paris was—the integrity of the Ottoman Empire; the negation of the right of any one Power to exercise a special protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Porte; and the substitution for any such protectorate, of the collective guarantee of all the Powers (arts. 22, 28).

The development of the programme of Kainardji was checked by European jealousy of Russian ambition.

The development of the programme of Paris has been, in its turn, arrested by Russia's impatience with the merely coordinate position assigned to her in the councils of Europe.

APPENDIX.

I.

TREATIES MADE BETWEEN RUSSIA AND TURKEY DURING THE PERIOD 1774—1853.

1774 July 21	Treaty of Peace	Kutschouc-Kainardji		Martens, R. 2. ii. p. 286.
1775 Jan. 24	Act as to the Crimea	Constantinople		R. 2. ii. p. 321.
1775 April 4	Boundary Convention	... ...		R. 2. ii. p. 396.
1779 March 10	Convention explicative	Constantinople		R. 2. ii. p. 653.
1781	Convention as to violation of the Bosphorus	... ...		Not printed.
1783 June 21	Treaty of Commerce	Constantinople		R. 2. iii. p. 615.
1784 Jan. 8	Act as to the Tartars	Constantinople		R. 2. iii. p. 707.
1792 Jan. 9	Treaty of Peace	Jassy		R. 2. v. p. 291.
1798 Dec. 23	Treaty of Alliance	Constantinople		R. 2. vi. p. 532.
1800 March 21	Convention as to the Seven Islands	Constantinople		R. 2. vii. p. 41.
1807 Aug. 24	Convention of Armistice	Slobosia		R. 2. viii. p. 689.
1812 May 28	Treaty of Peace	Bucharest		N. R. iii. p. 397.
1826 Oct. 7	Convention for the Execution of the Treaty of Bucharest	Ackerman		N. R. vi. p. 1053. Hertslet, p. 747.
1829 Sept. 14	Treaty of Peace	Adrianople		N. R. viii. p. 152. Hertslet, p. 813.
1833 July 8	Treaty of Alliance	Unkiar-Skelessi		N. R. xi. p. 655. Hertslet, p. 925.

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1834 Jan. 29	...	Convention as to the Asiatic boundary, &c.	St. Petersburg	N. R. G. xv. p. 482. Hertslet, p. 936.
1836 March 27	...	Convention as to Indemnities	Constantinople	N. R. G. xv. p. 486. Hertslet, p. 961.
1840 July 15	...	Convention for the Pacification of the Levant	London	N. R. G. xv. p. 488. Herslet, p. 1008.
1840 Sept. 17	...	Protocol, ditto.	London	N. R. G. xv. p. 488. Hertslet, p. 1023.
1841 July 10	...	Protocol as to the Dardanelles	London	N. R. G. ii. p. 126.
1841 July 13	...	Convention, ditto.	London	N. R. G. ii. p. 128. Hertslet, p. 1024.
1846 April 30	...	Treaty of Commerce	Balta-Liman	N. R. G. ix. p. 131.
1849 May 1	...	Convention as to the Danubian Principalities	Balta-Liman	N. R. G. xiv. p. 378. Hertslet, p. 1090.
1849 Dec. 25	...	Protocol as to Polish Refugees	Constantinople	N. R. G. xiv. p. 693.

ABBREVIATIONS.

R. 2. ... Recueil des principaux Traités, &c., par G. F. De Martens, 2me édition.

N. R. ... Nouveau Recueil.

N. R. G. ... Nouveau Recueil Général.

Hertslet ... The Map of Europe by Treaty since the Peace of 1814, by Edward Hertslet, C.B. 1875.

II.

A TABLE SHOWING THE RELATION OF THE TREATY OF KAINARDJI TO THE SUBSEQUENT GREAT TREATIES.

	Kainardji (28 Articles).	Jassy (13 Articles).	Bucharest (16 Articles).	Akerman (8 Articles & 2 Acts).	Adrianople (16 Articles & 2 Acts).
GENERAL OBJECTS:					
Perpetual Peace	1	1	1	...	1
Previous Treaties cancelled	22	Previous Treaties renewed 2	3	1	15
TERRITORIAL:					
The Tartars	3	6			Greece 10
Archipelago	17	...	...	...	2
European Frontier	16, 18–20	3	4	...	3
				The Great Islands 2	
Asiatic Frontier	21, 23	5	6	4	4, 9
OBLIGATORY:					
Russian Embassy	5, 6, 9				
A new Greek Church	7, 14				
The Porte to protect Christians	7				
The Porte to allow Pilgrimages	8				
For good treatment of the Archipelago ...	17				
— of Wallachia and Moldavia	16	4	5	3 and Act 1	5 and Act 1
			For good treatment of Servia 8	5 and Act 2	6
For freedom of Trade and Commerce ...	11	7	12	7	7
Miscellaneous	4, 12, 13				
TEMPORARY:	10, 24–28	8–13	2, 7, 9–11, 13–16	6, 8	8, 11–14, 16 and Act 2

III.

Treaty of Perpetual Peace and Friendship, between the Empire of Russia and the Ottoman Porte, concluded on the 10*th of July,* 1774, *in the tent of the Commander-in-chief, Field Marshal Count de Roumanzow, near the village of Kutschouc-Kainardji, upon the right bank of the Danube, by the Plenipotentiaries named by him and the Grand Vizier; confirmed by the two Chiefs on the* 15*th of the same month, and approved and ratified by His Highness at Constantinople on the* 10*th of January,* 1775[1].

In the name of Almighty God.

THE Sovereigns of the two belligerent Empires, that of all the Russias and that of the Ottoman Porte, mutually wishing and desiring to put an end to the war which has lasted up to the present time between the two States, and to succeed in re-establishing peace by means of persons of confidence respectively empowered for that purpose, have nominated and furnished with their effective full powers for negotiating, agreeing upon, concluding, and signing the Treaty of Peace between the two high Empires, viz., Her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias, Count Peter de Roumanzow, Field-Marshal General, Commander of her army, Governor-General of Little Russia, President of the College of Little Russia, and Knight of the Orders of St. Andréw, St. George, St. Alexander Newski, and St. Anne; and his Highness the Grand Vizier of the Sublime Porte, Mousson Zadé Mechmet Bacha.

[1] From an impression published in French at St. Petersburgh, 1775.

In consequence, these two Commanders of the armies, the Field-Marshal Count Peter de Roumanzow and the Grand Vizier Mousson Zadé Mechmet Bacha, in order to conform to the wishes of their Courts, have devoted all their attention to this matter, and the Plenipotentiaries, Nischandgi Resmi Achmet Effendi and Ibraim Munib Reis Effendi, sent, on the 5th of July, 1774, by the Grand Vizier on the part of the Sublime Porte, have, conjointly with the Plenipotentiary named by the said Field-Marshal, the Prince Nicholas Repnin, Lieutenant-General, Knight of the Order of St. George, of the Grand Cross, of St. Alexander Newski, of the White Eagle of Poland, &c., of St. Anne of Holstein, drawn up, agreed upon, concluded, signed, and sealed with the seal of their coat-of-arms, in presence of Field-Marshal General Count de Roumanzow, in his tent, the following Articles of the perpetual peace between the Empire of all the Russias and the Ottoman Porte:

ART. I. From the present time all the hostilities and enmities which have hitherto prevailed shall cease for ever, and all hostile acts and enterprises committed on either side, whether by force of arms or in any other manner, shall be buried in an eternal oblivion, without vengeance being taken for them in any way whatever; but, on the contrary, there shall always be a perpetual, constant, and inviolable peace, as well by sea as by land. In like manner there shall be cultivated between the two High Contracting Parties, Her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias and His Highness, their successors and heirs, as well as between the two Empires, their states, territories, subjects, and inhabitants, a sincere union and a perpetual and inviolable friendship, with a careful accomplishment and maintenance of these Articles; so that neither of the two parties shall, in future, undertake with respect to the other any hostile act or design whatsoever,

either secretly or openly. And in consequence of the renewal of so sincere a friendship, the two Contracting Parties grant respectively an amnesty and general pardon to all such of their subjects, without distinction, who may have been guilty of any crime against one or other of the two Parties; delivering and setting at liberty those who are in the gallies or in prison; permitting all banished persons or exiles to return home, and promising to restore to them, after the peace, all the honours and property which they before enjoyed, and not to subject them, nor allow others to subject them, with impunity, to any insult, loss, or injury under any pretext whatsoever; but that each and every of them may live under the safeguard and protection of the laws and customs of his native country in the same manner as his native fellow-countrymen.

II. If, after the conclusion of the Treaty and the exchange of the ratifications, any subjects of the two Empires, having committed any capital offence, or having been guilty of disobedience or of treason, should endeavour to conceal themselves, or seek an asylum in the territories of one of the two Powers, they must not be received or sheltered there under any pretext, but must be immediately delivered up, or at least expelled, from the States of the Power whither they had escaped, in order that, on account of such criminals, there should not arise any coolness or useless dispute between the two Empires, with the exception, however, of those who, in the Empire of Russia, shall have embraced the Christian religion, and, in the Ottoman Empire, the Mahometan religion. In like manner, should any subjects of the two Empires, whether Christians or Mahometans, having committed any crime or offence, or for any reason whatsoever, pass from one Empire into the other, they shall be immediately delivered up, so soon as a requisition to that effect is made.

III. All the Tartar peoples—those of the Crimea, of the Budjiac, of the Kuban, the Edissans, Geambouiluks and Editschkuls—shall, without any exception, be acknowledged by the two Empires as free nations, and entirely independent of every foreign Power, governed by their own Sovereign, of the race of Ghengis Khan, elected and raised to the throne by all the Tartar peoples; which Sovereign shall govern them according to their ancient laws and usages, being responsible to no foreign Power whatsoever; for which reason, neither the Court of Rùssia nor the Ottoman Porte shall interfere, under any pretext whatever, with the election of the said Khan, or in the domestic, political, civil and internal affairs of the same; but, on the contrary, they shall acknowledge and consider the said Tartar nation, in its political and civil state, upon the same footing as the other Powers who are governed by themselves, and are dependent upon God alone. As to the ceremonies of religion, as the Tartars profess the same faith as the Mahometans, they shall regulate themselves, with respect to His Highness, in his capacity of Grand Caliph of Mahometanism, according to the precepts prescribed to them by their law, without compromising, nevertheless, the stability of their political and civil liberty. Russia leaves to this Tartar nation, with the exception of the fortresses of Kertsch and Jenicale (with their districts and ports, which Russia retains for herself), all the towns, fortresses, dwellings, territories, and ports which it has conquered in Crimea and in Kuban; the country situated between the rivers Berda, Konskie, Vodi, and the Dnieper, as well as all that situated as far as the frontier of Poland between the Boug and the Dniester, excepting the fortress of Oczakow, with its ancient terrritory, which shall belong, as heretofore, to the Sublime Porte; and it promises to withdraw its troops from their possessions

immediately after the conclusion and exchange of the Treaty of Peace. The Sublime Ottoman Porte engages, in like manner, on its part, to abandon all right whatsoever which it might have over the fortresses, towns, habitations, &c., in Crimea, in Kuban, and in the island of Taman; to maintain in those places no garrison nor other armed forces, ceding these states to the Tartars in the same manner as the Court of Russia has done, that is to say, in full power and in absolute and independent sovereignty. In like manner the Sublime Porte engages, in the most solemn manner, and promises neither to introduce nor maintain, in future, any garrison or armed forces whatsoever in the above-mentioned towns, fortresses, lands, and habitations, nor, in the interior of those States, any intendant or military agent, of whatsoever denomination, but to leave all the Tartars in the same perfect liberty and independence in which the Empire of Russia leaves them.

IV. It is conformable to the natural right of every Power to make, in its own country, such dispositions as it may consider to be expedient: in consequence whereof, there is respectively reserved to the two Empires a perfect and unrestricted liberty of constructing anew in their respective States, and within their frontiers, in such localities as shall be deemed advisable, every kind of fortresses, towns, habitations, edifices, and dwellings, as well as of repairing and rebuilding the old fortresses, towns, habitations, &c.

V. After the conclusion of this happy peace, and the renewal of a sincere and neighbourly friendship, the Imperial Court of Russia shall always have, henceforth, at the Sublime Porte, a Minister of the second rank, that is to say, an Envoy or Minister Plenipotentiary; the Sublime Porte shall show to him, in his official character, all the attentions and respect which are observed towards the Ministers of the most dis-

tinguished Powers; and upon all public occasions the said Minister shall immediately follow the Emperor's Minister, if he be of the same rank as the latter; but if he be of a different rank, that is to say, either superior or inferior, then the Russian Minister shall immediately follow the Ambassador of Holland, and, in his absence, that of Venice.

VI. If any individual in the actual service of the Russian Minister during his stay at the Sublime Porte, having been guilty of theft or having committed any crime or act liable to punishment, should, for the purpose of escaping the penalty of the law, become Turk; although he cannot be prevented from so doing, yet after he has undergone the punishment he deserves, all the articles stolen shall be restored *in toto*, according to the specification of the Minister. But those who, being intoxicated, might be desirous of adopting the turban, must not be allowed so to do until after their fit of drunkenness is over, and they have come to their right senses; and even then, their final declaration shall not be taken, unless in the presence of an interpreter sent by the Minister, and of some Mussulman free from the suspicion of partiality.

VII. The Sublime Porte promises to protect constantly the Christian religion and its churches, and it also allows the Ministers of the Imperial Court of Russia to make, upon all occasions, representations, as well in favour of the new church at Constantinople, of which mention will be made in Article XIV, as on behalf of its officiating ministers, promising to take such representations into due consideration, as being made by a confidential functionary of a neighbouring and sincerely friendly Power.

VIII. The subjects of the Russian Empire, as well laymen as ecclesiastics, shall have full liberty and permission to visit the holy city of Jerusalem, and other places deserving of

attention. No charatsch, contribution, duty, or other tax, shall be exacted from those pilgrims and travellers by any one whomsoever, either at Jerusalem or elsewhere, or on the road; but they shall be provided with such passports and firmans as are given to the subjects of the other friendly Powers. During their sojourn in the Ottoman Empire, they shall not suffer the least wrong or injury; but, on the contrary, shall be under the strictest protection of the laws.

IX. The interpreters attached to the Russian Ministers resident at Constantinople, of whatever nation they may be, being employed upon State affairs, and consequently in the service of both Empires, must be regarded and treated with every degree of kindness; and they shall be subjected to no ill-treatment on account of the business with which they may be entrusted by their principals.

X. If between the signing of these Articles of Peace and the orders which shall thereupon be dispatched by the Commanders of the two respective armies, an engagement should anywhere take place, neither party shall be offended thereat, nor shall it be productive of any consequences, every acquisition made thereby being restored, and no advantage shall accrue therefrom to one party or the other.

XI. For the convenience and advantage of the two Empires, there shall be a free and unimpeded navigation for the merchant-ships belonging to the two Contracting Powers, in all the seas which wash their shores; the Sublime Porte grants to Russian merchant-vessels, namely, such as are universally employed by the other Powers for commerce and in the ports, a free passage from the Black Sea into the White Sea, and reciprocally from the White Sea into the Black Sea, as also the power of entering all the ports and harbours situated either on the sea-coasts, or in the passages and channels which join those seas. In like manner, the

Sublime Porte allows Russian subjects to trade in its States by land as well as by water and upon the Danube in their ships, in conformity with what has been specified above in this Article, with all the same privileges and advantages as are enjoyed in its States by the most friendly nations, whom the Sublime Porte favours most in trade, such as the French and the English; and the capitulations of those two nations and others shall, just as if they were here inserted word for word, serve as a rule, under all circumstances and in every place, for whatever concerns commerce as well as Russian merchants, who upon paying the same duties may import and export all kinds of goods, and disembark their merchandise at every port and harbour as well upon the Black as upon the other Seas, Constantinople being expressly included in the number.

While granting in the above manner to the respective subjects the freedom of commerce and navigation upon all waters without exception, the two Empires, at the same time, allow merchants to stop within their territories for as long a time as their affairs require, and promise them the same security and liberty as are enjoyed by the subjects of other friendly Courts. And in order to be consistent throughout, the Sublime Porte also allows the residence of Consuls and Vice-Consuls in every place where the Court of Russia may consider it expedient to establish them, and they shall be treated upon a perfect footing of equality with the Consuls of the other friendly Powers. It permits them to have interpreters called Baratli, that is, those who have patents, providing them with Imperial patents, and causing them to enjoy the same prerogatives as those in the service of the said French, English, and other nations.

Similarly, Russia permits the subjects of the Sublime Porte to trade in its dominions, by sea and by land, with the same

prerogatives and advantages as are enjoyed by the most friendly nations, and upon paying the accustomed duties. In case of accident happening to the vessels, the two Empires are bound respectively to render them the same assistance as is given in similar cases to other friendly nations; and all necessary things shall be furnished to them at the ordinary prices.

XII. When the Imperial Court of Russia shall have the intention of making any Commercial Treaty with the regencies of Africa, as Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, the Sublime Porte engages to employ its power and influence in order to accomplish the views of the above-named Court in this respect, and to guarantee, as regards those regencies, all the conditions which shall have been stipulated in those Treaties.

XIII. The Sublime Porte promises to employ the sacred title of the Empress of all the Russias in all public acts and letters, as well as in all other cases, in the Turkish language, that is to say, 'Temamen Roussielerin Padischag.'

XIV. After the manner of the other Powers, permission is given to the High Court of Russia, in addition to the chapel built in the Minister's residence, to erect in one of the quarters of Galata, in the street called Bey Oglu, a public church of the Greek ritual, which shall always be under the protection of the Ministers of that Empire, and secure from all coercion and outrage.

XV. Although, according to the manner in which the boundaries of the two Contracting Powers are arranged, there is every reason to hope that the respective subjects shall no longer find any occasion for serious differences and disputes amongst themselves, nevertheless, at all events to guard against whatever might occasion a coolness or cause a misunderstanding, the two Empires mutually agree that all such cases of disagreement shall be investigated by the

Governors and Commanders of the frontiers, or by Commissioners appointed for that purpose, who shall be bound, after making the necessary inquiries, to render justice where it is due, without the least loss of time: with the express condition that events of this nature shall never serve as a pretext for the slightest alteration in the friendship and good feeling re-established by this Treaty.

XVI. The Empire of Russia restores to the Sublime Porte the whole of Bessarabia, with the cities of Ackermann, Kilija, Ismail, together with the towns and villages, and all contained in that Province; in like manner it restores to it the fortress of Bender. Similarly the Empire of Russia restores to the Sublime Porte the two Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, together with all the fortresses, cities, towns, villages, and all which they contain, and the Sublime Porte receives them upon the following conditions, solemnly promising to keep them religiously:

1. To observe, with respect to all the inhabitants of these Principalities, of whatever rank, dignity, state, calling, and extraction they may be, without the least exception, the absolute amnesty and eternal oblivion stipulated in Article I of the Treaty, in favour of all those who shall have actually committed any crime, or who shall have been suspected of having had the intention of doing injury to the interests of the Sublime Porte, re-establishing them in their former dignities, ranks, and possessions, and restoring to them the property which they were in the enjoyment of previously to the present war.

2. To obstruct in no manner whatsoever the free exercise of the Christian religion, and to interpose no obstacle to the erection of new churches and to the repairing of the old ones, as has been done heretofore.

3. To restore to the convents and to other individuals the

lands and possessions formerly belonging to them, which have been taken from them contrary to all justice, and which are situated in the environs of Brahilow, Choczim, Bender, &c., now called Rai.

4. To entertain for ecclesiastics the particular respect due to their calling.

5. To grant to families who shall be desirous to quit their country in order to establish themselves elsewhere, a free egress with all their property; and in order that such families may duly arrange their affairs, to allow them the term of one year for this free emigration from their country, reckoning from the day on which the present Treaty shall be exchanged.

6. Not to demand or exact any payment for old accounts, of whatever nature they may be.

7. Not to require from these people any contribution or payment for all the time of the duration of the war; and even, on account of the devastations to which they have been exposed, to relieve them from all taxes for the space of two years, reckoning from the day on which the present Treaty shall be exchanged.

8. At the expiration of the above-mentioned term, the Porte promises to treat them with all possible humanity and generosity in the monetary taxes which it shall impose upon them, and to receive them by means of deputies, who shall be sent to it every two years; and after the payment of these taxes, no Bacha, Governor, nor any other person whatsoever shall molest them, or exact from them any other payments or taxes of what description soever, but they shall possess all the advantages which they enjoyed during the reign of the late Sultan.

9. The Porte allows each of the Princes of these two States to have accredited to it a Chargé d'Affaires, selected

from among the Christians of the Greek communion, who shall watch over the affairs of the said Principalities, be treated with kindness by the Porte, and who, notwithstanding their comparative want of importance, shall be considered as persons who enjoy the rights of nations, that is to say, who are protected from every kind of violence.

10. The Porte likewise permits that, according as the circumstances of these two Principalities may require, the Ministers of the Imperial Court of Russia resident at Constantinople may remonstrate in their favour; and promises to listen to them with all the attention which is due to friendly and respected Powers.

XVII. The Empire of Russia restores to the Sublime Porte all the islands of the Archipelago which are under its dependence; and the Sublime Porte, on its part, promises:

1. To observe religiously, with respect to the inhabitants of these islands, the conditions stipulated in Article I concerning the general amnesty and the eternal oblivion of all crimes whatsoever, committed or suspected to have been committed to the prejudice of the interests of the Sublime Porte.

2. That the Christian religion shall not be exposed to the least oppression any more than its churches, and that no obstacle shall be opposed to the erection or repair of them; and also that the officiating ministers shall neither be oppressed nor insulted.

3. That there shall not be exacted from these islands any payment of the annual taxes to which they were subjected, namely, since the time that they have been under the dependence of the Empire of Russia; and that, moreover, in consideration of the great losses which they have suffered during the war, they shall be exempt from any taxes for two years more, reckoning from the time of their restoration to the Sublime Porte.

4. To permit the families who might wish to quit their country, and establish themselves elsewhere, free egress with their property; and in order that such families may arrange their affairs with all due convenience, the term of one year is allowed them for this free emigration, reckoning from the day of the exchange of the present Treaty.

5. In case the Russian fleet, at the time of its departure, which must take place within three months, reckoning from the day on which the present Treaty is exchanged, should be in need of anything, the Sublime Porte promises to provide it, as far as possible, with all that may be necessary.

XVIII. The Castle of Kinburn, situated at the mouth of the Dnieper, with a proportionate district along the left bank of the Dnieper, and the corner which forms the desert between the Boug and the Dnieper, remains under the full, perpetual, and incontestable dominion of the Empire of Russia.

XIX. The fortresses of Jenicale and Kertsch, situated in the peninsula of Crimea, with their ports and all therein contained, and moreover with their districts, commencing from the Black Sea, and following the ancient frontier of Kertsch as far as the place called Bugak, and from Bugak ascending in a direct line as far as the Sea of Azow, shall remain under the full, perpetual, and incontestable dominion of the Empire of Russia.

XX. The city of Azow, with its district, and the boundaries laid down in the Conventions made in 1700, that is to say in 1113, between the Governor Tolstoi and Hassan Bacha, Governor of Atschûg, shall belong in perpetuity to the Empire of Russia.

XXI. The two Cabardes, namely, the Great and Little, on account of their proximity to the Tartars, are more nearly connected with the Khans of Crimea; for which reason it

must remain with the Khan of Crimea to consent, in concert with his Council and the ancients of the Tartar nation, to these countries becoming subject to the Imperial Court of Russia.

XXII. The Two Empires have agreed to annihilate and leave in an eternal oblivion all the Treaties and Conventions heretofore made between the Two States, including therein the Convention of Belgrade, with all those subsequent to it; and never to put forth any claim grounded upon the said Conventions, excepting, however, the one made in 1700 between Governor Tolstoi and Hassan Bacha, Governor of Atschug, on the subject of the boundaries of the district of Azow and of the line of demarcation of the frontier of Kuban, which shall remain invariably such as it has heretofore been.

XXIII. The fortresses which are standing in a part of Georgia and of Mingrelia, as Bagdadgick, Kutatis, and Scheherban, conquered by the Russian armies, shall be considered by Russia as belonging to those on whom they were formerly dependent; so that if, in ancient times, or for a very long period, they have actually been under the dominion of the Sublime Porte, they shall be considered as belonging to it; and after the exchange of the present Treaty the Russian troops shall, at the time agreed upon, quit the said Provinces of Georgia and Mingrelia. On its part, the Sublime Porte engages, conformably to the contents of the present Article, to grant a general amnesty to all those in the said countries who, in the course of the present war, shall have offended it in any manner whatsoever. It renounces solemnly and for ever to exact tributes of children, male and female, and every other kind of tax. It engages to consider such of these people only as its subjects as shall have belonged to it from all antiquity; to

leave and restore all the castles and fortified places which have been under the dominion of the Georgians and Mingrelians, to their own exclusive custody and government; as also not to molest in any manner the religion, monasteries, and churches; not to hinder the repairing of dilapidated ones, nor the building of new ones; and it promises that these people shall not be oppressed on the part of the Governor of Tschildirsk, and other chiefs and officers, by exactions which despoil them of their property. But as the said people are subjects of the Sublime Porte, Russia must not, in future, intermeddle in any manner in their affairs, nor molest them in any way.

XXIV. Immediately upon the signing and confirmation of these Articles, all the Russian troops which are in Bulgaria on the right bank of the Danube shall withdraw, and within one month, reckoning from the day of the signature, they shall cross to the other side of the river. When all the troops shall have passed the Danube, the castle of Hirsow shall be delivered up to the Turks, the said castle being evacuated to them when all the Russian troops shall have completely passed over to the left bank of that river. After which, the evacuation of Wallachia and Bessarabia shall be effected simultaneously, the term of two months being allowed for that operation. After all the Russian troops shall have quitted these two Provinces, the fortresses of Giurgewo and afterwards Brahilow on the one side (of the river), and on the other, the town of Ismail and the fortresses of Kilia and Ackerman, shall be delivered up to the Turkish troops, from all which places the Russian garrisons shall withdraw for the purpose of following the other troops, so that for the complete evacuation of the said Provinces the term of three months shall be assigned. Lastly, the Imperial troops of Russia shall, two months afterwards, withdraw from Moldavia,

and shall pass over to the left bank of the Dniester; thus, the evacuation of all the aforesaid countries shall be effected within five months, reckoning from the above-mentioned signing of the Treaty of Perpetual Peace between the two contracting Empires. When all the Russian troops shall have passed to the left bank of the Dniester, the fortresses of Chotzum and of Bender shall be given up to the Turkish troops; upon this condition, however, that the castle of Kinburn with the district belonging to it, and the desert situated between the Dnieper and the Boug, shall have been already restored in full, perpetual and incontestable sovereignty to the Empire of Russia, conformably to Article XVIII of the Treaty of Perpetual Peace between the two Empires.

As to the islands of the Archipelago, they shall be left, as heretofore, under the legitimate dominion of the Ottoman Porte, by the fleet and the Imperial troops of Russia, as soon as the arrangements and peculiar necessities of the fleet shall permit, with regard to which it is not possible to assign here the precise time. And the Sublime Porte, in order to accelerate as much as possible the departure of the said fleet, already engages, as a friendly Power, to furnish it, as far as it can, with every necessary of which it may be in need.

During the stay of the Imperial troops of Russia in the Provinces to be restored to the Sublime Porte, the government and police shall remain there in the same vigour as at present and since the conquest, and the Porte must take no part whatever therein, during the whole of this time, nor until the entire withdrawal of all the troops. Up to the last day of their quitting these countries, the Russian troops shall be provided with all necessaries, as well provisions as other articles, in the same manner as they have hitherto been furnished with them.

The troops of the Sublime Porte must not enter the

fortresses which shall be restored to it, nor shall that Power commence to exercise its authority in the countries which shall be given up to it, until at each place or country which shall have been evacuated by the Russian troops, the Commander of those troops shall have given notice thereof to the officer appointed for that purpose on the part of the Ottoman Porte.

The Russian troops may, at their pleasure, empty their magazines of ammunition and provisions which are in the fortresses, towns, and wherever else they may be, and they shall leave nothing in the fortresses restored to the Sublime Porte but such Turkish artillery as is actually found there. The inhabitants in all the countries restored to the Sublime Porte, of whatever state and condition they may be, and who are in the Imperial service of Russia, have the liberty, besides the term allowed of one year, as assigned in the Articles XVI and XVII of the Treaty of Peace, of quitting the country and withdrawing with their families and property in the rear of the Russian troops; and conformably to the above-mentioned Articles, the Sublime Porte engages not to oppose their departure, neither then nor during the entire term of one year.

XXV. All the prisoners of war and slaves in the two Empires, men and women, of whatever rank and dignity they may be, with the exception of those who, in the Empire of Russia shall have voluntarily quitted Mahometanism in order to embrace the Christian religion, or in the Ottoman Empire shall have voluntarily abandoned Christianity in order to embrace the Mahometan faith, shall be, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this Treaty, and without any excuse whatever, be set at liberty on either side, and restored and delivered up without ransom or redemption money; in like manner, all the Christians fallen into slavery, such as

Poles, Moldavians, Wallachians, Peloponnesians, inhabitants of the islands, and Georgians, all, without the least exception, must be set at liberty without ransom or redemption money. Similarly all Russian subjects who, since the conclusion of this happy peace, shall by any accident have fallen into slavery, and who shall be found in the Ottoman Empire, must be set at liberty and restored in like manner; all which the Empire of Russia promises also to observe, on its part, towards the Ottoman Porte and its subjects.

XXVI. After having received in Crimea and in Oczakow intelligence of the signature of these Articles, the Commander of the Russian army in Crimea, and the Governor of Oczakow must immediately communicate with each on the subject, and within two months after the signing of the Treaty send, respectively, persons duly accredited for effecting, on the one hand, the cession, and on the other the taking possession, of the Castle of Kinburn, with the desert, as stipulated in Article XVIII above; and this the said Commissioners must absolutely effect within two months from the day of their meeting, in order that within four months, or even sooner, reckoning from the signing of the Treaty, the whole of this business be accomplished, and immediately after the said execution thereof, notice of the same shall be given to their Excellencies the Field-Marshal and the Grand Vizier.

XXVII. But in order that the present peace and sincere friendship between the two Empires be so much the more strongly and authentically sealed and confirmed, there shall be sent on both sides solemn and extraordinary Embassies with the Imperial ratifications signed, confirmatory of the Treaty of Peace, at such time as shall be agreed upon by both the High Contracting Parties. The Ambassadors shall be met on the frontiers in the same manner, and they shall be received and treated with the same honours and ceremonies

as are observed in the respective Embassies between the Ottoman Porte and the most respectable Powers. And as a testimonial of friendship, there shall be mutually sent through the medium of the said Ambassadors presents which shall be proportionate to the dignity of their Imperial Majesties.

XXVIII. After these Articles of the perpetual peace shall have been signed by the said Plenipotentiaries, the Lieutenant-General Prince Repnin, and on the part of the Sublime Porte the Nischandgi Resmi Achmet Effendi and Ibrahim Munib Effendi, all hostilities are to cease between the principal as well as between the separate corps, both by land and by sea, so soon as orders to that effect shall have been received from the Commanders of the two armies. For this purpose, couriers must first of all be dispatched on the part of the Field-Marshal and the Grand Vizier into the Archipelago, to the fleet which is in the Black Sea, opposite to the Crimea, and to all the places where hostilities are being mutually carried on, in order that by virtue of the concluded peace all warfare and hostile operations may cease and determine; and these couriers shall be provided with orders on the part of the Field-Marshal, and of the Grand Vizier, in such wise that should the Russian courier arrive first at the quarters of the Commander to whom he is sent, he may, through his means, transmit to the Turkish Commander the orders of the Grand Vizier; and in like manner, if the courier of the latter should be the first to arrive, then the Turkish Commander may transmit to the Russian Commander the orders of the Field-Marshal.

And as the negotiation and accomplishment of this peace have been confided by the Sovereigns of the respective Empires to the care of the Commanders-in-chief of their armies, namely, the Field-Marshal Count Pierre de Rouman-

zow, and the Grand Vizier of the Sublime Porte, Mousson Zade Mechmet Bacha, the said Field-Marshal and Grand Vizier must, by virtue of the full power given to each of them by their Sovereigns, confirm all the said Articles of the perpetual peace as they are herein expressed, and with the same force as if they had been drawn up in their presence, sign them with the seal of their coat-of-arms, observe and faithfully and inviolably accomplish all that has been there stipulated and promised, do nothing, nor suffer anything whatsoever to be done in contravention of the said Treaty, and the copies, in every respect similar to the present one, signed by them, and having their seals attached, on the part of the Grand Vizier in the Turkish and Italian language, and on the part of the Field-Marshal in Russian and Italian, as well as the full-powers to them given by their Sovereigns, shall be respectively exchanged by the same persons above-mentioned, who have been sent, on the part of the Sublime Porte, to the Field-Marshal, within five days without fail, reckoning from the day of the signing of the present Treaty, and sooner if it be possible; it being, from this present time, determined that they shall receive the said copies from the Field-Marshal as soon as they shall have notified that those of the Grand Vizier have reached them.

This 10th July, 1774.

(L.S.) COUNT PIERRE DE ROUMANZOW.
PRINCE NICHOLAS REPNIN.
(L.S.) MOUSSON ZADE MECHMET BACHA.
RESMI ACHMET EFFENDI.
IBRAIM MUNIB EFFENDI.

By an edict of the Empress of Russia dated the $\frac{19}{30}$ of

March, 1775, which fixes a thanksgiving-day to God for the establishment of peace, it appears that the ratifications were exchanged at Constantinople on the $\frac{13}{24}$ of January, 1775, between the Chargé d'Affaires of Russia, Colonel Peterson, and the Grand Vizier himself.

IV.

The General Treaty of Paris of March 30, 1856, (*as modified by the Treaty of London of March* 13, 1871[1]).

In the Name of Almighty God.

THEIR Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of the French, the Emperor of all the Russias, the King of Sardinia, and the Emperor of the Ottomans, animated by the desire of putting an end to the calamities of war, and wishing to prevent the return of the complications which occasioned it, resolve to come to an understanding with His Majesty the Emperor of Austria as to the basis on which peace might be re-established and consolidated, by securing, through effectual and reciprocal guarantees, the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

For this purpose Their said Majesties named as their Plenipotentiaries, &c.

Which Plenipotentiaries assembled in Congress at Paris.

An understanding having been happily established between them, Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the

[1] By Art. VIII of the Treaty of March 13, 1871, '*The High Contracting Parties renew and confirm all the stipulations of the Treaty of March* 30, 1856, *as well as of its annexes, which are not annulled or modified by the present Treaty.*'

Emperor of the French, the Emperor of all the Russias, the King of Sardinia, and the Emperor of the Ottomans, considering that in the interest of Europe, His Majesty the King of Prussia, a signing Party to the Convention of the 13th of July, 1841, should be invited to participate in the new arrangements to be adopted, and appreciating the value that the concurrence of His said Majesty would add to a work of general pacification, invited him to send Plenipotentiaries to the Congress.

In consequence, His Majesty the King of Prussia named as His Plenipotentiaries, &c.

Art. I. From the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty, there shall be peace and friendship between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, His Majesty the Emperor of the French, His Majesty the King of Sardinia, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, on the one part, and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, on the other part; as well as between their heirs and successors, their respective dominions and subjects, in perpetuity.

II. Peace being happily re-established between their said Majesties, the territories conquered or occupied by their armies during the war shall be reciprocally evacuated.

Special arrangements shall regulate the mode of the evacuation, which shall be as prompt as possible.

III. His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias engages to restore to His Majesty the Sultan the town and citadel of Kars, as well as the other parts of the Ottoman territory of which the Russian troops are in possession.

IV. Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of the French, the King of Sardinia, and the Sultan, engage to restore to His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the towns and ports

of Sebastopol, Balaklava, Kamiesch, Eupatoria, Kertch, Jenikale, Kinburn, as well as other territories occupied by the allied troops.

V. Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of the French, the Emperor of all the Russias, the King of Sardinia, and the Sultan, grant a full and entire amnesty to those of their subjects who may have been compromised by any participation whatsoever in the events of the war in favour of the cause of the enemy.

It is expressly understood that such amnesty shall extend to the subjects of each of the belligerent parties who may have continued, during the war, to be employed in the service of one of the other belligerents.

VI. Prisoners of war shall be immediately given up on either side.

VII. Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, His Majesty the Emperor of the French, His Majesty the King of Prussia, His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and His Majesty the King of Sardinia, declare the Sublime Porte admitted to participate in the advantages of the public law and system (*concert*) of Europe. Their Majesties engage, each on his part, to respect the independence and the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire; guarantee in common the strict observance of that engagement; and will, in consequence, consider any act tending to its violation as a question of general interest.

VIII. If there should arise between the Sublime Porte and one or more of the other signing Powers, any misunderstanding which might endanger the maintenance of their relations, the Sublime Porte, and each of such Powers, before having recourse to the use of force, shall afford the

other Contracting Parties the opportunity of preventing such an extremity by means of their mediation.

IX. His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, having, in his constant solicitude for the welfare of his subjects, issued a Firman which, while ameliorating their condition without distinction of religion or of race, records his generous intentions towards the Christian population of his Empire, and wishing to give a further proof of his sentiments in that respect, has resolved to communicate to the Contracting Parties the said Firman emanating spontaneously from his sovereign will.

The Contracting Powers recognise the high value of this communication. It is clearly understood that it cannot, in any case, give to the said Powers the right to interfere, either collectively or separately, in the relation of His Majesty the Sultan with his subjects, nor in the internal administration of his Empire.

X. The Convention of the 13th of July, 1841, which maintains the ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire relative to the closing of the Straits of the Bosphorus and of the Dardanelles, has been revised by common consent.

The Act concluded for that purpose, and in conformity with that principle, between the High Contracting Parties, is and remains annexed to the present Treaty, and shall have the same force and validity as if it formed an integral part thereof.

[XI.[1] The Black Sea is neutralised: its waters and its ports,

[1] Arts. XI, XIII and XIV, and the Convention mentioned in Art. XIV, were abrogated by Art. I of the Treaty of March 13, 1871; and replaced by Art. II of that Treaty, which is to the following effect:— '*The principle of the closing of the Straits of the Dardanelles and the 'Bosphorus, such as it has been established by the separate convention of 'March* 30, 1856, *is maintained, with power to His Imperial Majesty the 'Sultan to open the said Straits in time of peace to the vessels of war of*

thrown open to the mercantile marine of every nation, are formally and in perpetuity interdicted to the flag of war, either of the Powers possessing its coasts, or of any other Power, with the exceptions mentioned in Articles XIV and XIX of the present Treaty.]

XII.[1] Free from any impediment, the commerce in the ports and waters of the Black Sea shall be subject only to regulations of health, customs, and police, framed in a spirit favourable to the development of commercial transactions.

In order to afford to the commercial and maritime interests of every nation the security which is desired, Russia and the Sublime Porte will admit Consuls into their ports situated upon the coast of the Black Sea, in conformity with the principles of international law.

[XIII. The Black Sea being neutralised according to the terms of Article XI, the maintenance or establishment upon its coast of military-maritime arsenals becomes alike unnecessary and purposeless; in consequence, His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan engage not to establish or to maintain upon that coast any military-maritime arsenal.]

[XIV. Their Majesties the Emperor of all the Russias and the Sultan having concluded a Convention for the purpose of settling the force and the number of light vessels, necessary for the service of their coasts, which they reserve to themselves to maintain in the Black Sea, that Convention is

'*friendly and allied Powers, in case the Sublime Porte should judge it*
'*necessary in order to secure the execution of the stipulations of the Treaty of*
'*Paris of March* 30, 1856.'

[1] By Art. III of the Treaty of 1871, '*The Black Sea remains open as*
'*heretofore to the mercantile marine of all nations.*'

annexed to the present Treaty, and shall have the same force and validity as if it formed an integral part thereof. It cannot be either annulled or modified without the assent of the Powers signing the present Treaty.]

XV. The Act of the Congress of Vienna having established the principles intended to regulate the navigation of rivers which separate or traverse different States, the Contracting Powers stipulate among themselves that those principles shall in future be equally applied to the Danube and its mouths. They declare that this arrangement henceforth forms a part of the public law of Europe, and take it under their guarantee.

The navigation of the Danube cannot be subjected to any impediment or charge not expressly provided for by the stipulations contained in the following Articles: in consequence, there shall not be levied any toll founded solely upon the fact of the navigation of the river, nor any duty upon the goods which may be on board of vessels. The regulations of police and of quarantine to be established for the safety of the States separated or traversed by that river shall be so framed as to facilitate, as much as possible, the passage of vessels. With the exception of such regulations, no obstacle whatever shall be opposed to free navigation.

XVI. With the view to carry out the arrangements of the preceding Article, a Commission, in which Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey, shall each be represented by one delegate, shall be charged to designate and to cause to be executed the works necessary below Isatcha, to clear the mouths of the Danube, as well as the neighbouring parts of the sea, from the sands and other impediments which obstruct them, in order to put that part of the river and the said parts of the sea in the best possible state for navigation.

In order to cover the expenses of such works, as well as of the establishments intended to secure and to facilitate the navigation at the mouths of the Danube, fixed duties, of a suitable rate, settled by the Commission by a majority of votes, may be levied, on the express condition that, in this respect as in every other, the flags of all nations shall be treated on a footing of perfect equality.

XVII. A Commission shall be established, and shall be composed of delegates of Austria, Bavaria, the Sublime Porte, and Wurtemberg (one for each of those Powers), to whom shall be added Commissioners from the three Danubian Principalities, whose nomination shall have been approved by the Porte. This Commission, which shall be permanent: 1. Shall prepare regulations of navigation and river police; 2. Shall remove the impediments, of whatever nature they may be, which still prevent the application to the Danube of the arrangements of the Treaty of Vienna; 3. Shall order and cause to be executed the necessary works throughout the whole course of the river; and 4. Shall, after the dissolution of the European Commission, see to maintaining the mouths of the Danube and the neighbouring parts of the sea in a navigable state.

XVIII. It is understood that the European Commission shall have completed its task, and that the River Commission shall have finished the works described in the preceding Article, under Nos. 1 and 2, within the period of two years. The signing Powers assembled in Conference having been informed of that fact, shall, after having placed it on record, pronounce the dissolution of the European Commission, and from that time the permanent River Commission shall enjoy the same powers as those with which the European Commission shall have until then been invested.

XIX. In order to insure the execution of the regulations

which shall have been established by common agreement, in conformity with the principles above declared, each of the Contracting Powers shall have the right to station, at all times, two light vessels at the mouths of the Danube[1].

XX. In exchange for the towns, ports, and territories enumerated in Article IV of the present Treaty, and in order more fully to secure the freedom of the navigation of the Danube, His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias consents to the rectification of his frontier in Bessarabia.

The new frontier shall begin from the Black Sea, one kilometre to the east of the Lake Bourna Sola, shall run perpendicularly to the Akerman road, shall follow that road to the *Val de Trajan*, pass to the south of Bolgrad, ascend the course of the River Yalpuck to the Height of Saratsiki, and terminate at Katamori on the Pruth. Above that point the old frontier between the two Empires shall not undergo any modification.

Delegates of the Contracting Powers shall fix, in its details, the line of the new frontier.

XXI. The territory ceded by Russia shall be annexed to the Principality of Moldavia under the suzerainty of the Sublime Porte.

The inhabitants of that territory shall enjoy the rights and privileges secured to the Principalities; and, during the space of three years, they shall be permitted to transfer their domicile elsewhere, disposing freely of their property.

[1] Arts. XV–XIX with reference to the navigation of the Danube are affected by Arts. IV–VII of the Treaty of 1871. The duration of the commission mentioned in Art. XVI of the principal Treaty is extended to April 24, 1883 (Art. IV). By Art. VII it is declared to be '*Well understood that the provisions of this article shall in no way affect the right of the Sublime Porte to send as heretofore its vessels of war into the Danube in its character of Territorial Power.*'

XXII. The Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia shall continue to enjoy under the suzerainty of the Porte, and under the guarantee of the Contracting Powers, the privileges and immunities of which they are in possession. No exclusive protection shall be exercised over them by any of the Guaranteeing Powers. There shall be no separate right of interference in their internal affairs.

XXIII. The Sublime Porte engages to preserve to the said Principalities an independent and national administration, as well as full liberty of worship, of legislation, of commerce, and of navigation.

The laws and statutes at present in force shall be revised. In order to establish a complete agreement in regard to such revision, a Special Commission, as to the composition of which the High Contracting Powers will come to an understanding among themselves, shall assemble, without delay, at Bucharest, together with a Commissioner of the Sublime Porte.

The business of this Commission shall be to investigate the present state of the Principalities, and to propose bases for their future organisation.

XXIV. His Majesty the Sultan promises to convoke immediately in each of the two Provinces a Divan *ad hoc*, composed in such a manner as to represent most closely the interests of all classes of society. These Divans shall be called upon to express the wishes of the people in regard to the definite organisation of the Principalities.

An instruction from the Congress shall regulate the relations between the Commission and these Divans.

XXV. Taking into consideration the opinion expressed by the two Divans, the Commission shall transmit, without delay, to the present seat of the Conferences, the result of its own labours.

The final agreement with the Suzerain Power shall be recorded in a Convention to be concluded at Paris between the High Contracting Parties; and a Hatti-Scherif, in conformity with the stipulations of the Convention, shall constitute definitively the organisation of those Provinces, placed thenceforward under the collective guarantee of all the signing Powers.

XXVI. It is agreed that there shall be in the Principalities a national armed force, organised with the view to maintain the security of the interior, and to insure that of the frontiers. No impediment shall be opposed to the extraordinary measures of defence which, by agreement with the Sublime Porte, they may be called upon to take in order to repel any external aggression.

XXVII. If the internal tranquillity of the Principalities should be menaced or compromised, the Sublime Porte shall come to an understanding with the other Contracting Powers in regard to the measures to be taken for maintaining or re-establishing legal order. No armed intervention can take place without previous agreement between those Powers.

XXVIII. The Principality of Servia shall continue to hold of the Sublime Porte, in conformity with the Imperial Hatts which fix and determine its rights and immunities, placed henceforward under the collective guarantee of the Contracting Powers.

In consequence, the said Principality shall preserve its independent and national administration, as well as full liberty of worship, of legislation, of commerce, and of navigation.

XXIX. The right of garrison of the Sublime Porte, as stipulated by anterior regulations, is maintained. No armed intervention can take place in Servia without previous agreement between the High Contracting Powers.

XXX. His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias and His Majesty the Sultan maintain, in its integrity, the state of their possessions in Asia, such as it legally existed before the rupture.

In order to prevent all local dispute, the line of frontier shall be verified, and, if necessary, rectified, without any prejudice as regards territory being sustained by either party.

For this purpose a Mixed Commission, composed of two Russian Commissioners, two Ottoman Commissioners, one English Commissioner, and one French Commissioner, shall be sent to the spot immediately after the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the Court of Russia and the Sublime Porte. Its labours shall be completed within the period of eight months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty.

XXXI. The territories occupied during the war by the troops of Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Sardinia, according to the terms of the Conventions signed at Constantinople on the twelfth of March, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four, between Great Britain, France, and the Sublime Porte; on the fourteenth of June of the same year between Austria and the Sublime Porte; and on the fifteenth of March, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five, between Sardinia and the Sublime Porte; shall be evacuated as soon as possible after the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty. The periods and the means of execution shall form the object of an arrangement between the Sublime Porte and the Powers whose troops have occupied its territory.

XXXII. Until the Treaties or Conventions which existed before the war between the belligerent Powers have been either renewed or replaced by new Acts, commerce of

importation or of exportation shall take place reciprocally on the footing of the regulations in force before the war; and in all other matters their subjects shall be respectively treated upon the footing of the most favoured nation.

XXXIII. The Convention concluded this day between Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of the French, on the one part, and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias on the other part, respecting the Aland Islands, is and remains annexed to the present Treaty, and shall have the same force and validity as if it formed a part thereof.

XXXIV. The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Paris in the space of four weeks, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth day of the month of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

CONVENTIONS ANNEXED TO THE PRECEDING TREATY.

1.—*Convention between Her Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Sardinia, on the one part, and the Sultan, on the other part, respecting the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus.*

In the Name of Almighty God.

THEIR Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of all the Russias, signing parties to the Convention of the thirteenth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and forty-one; and His Majesty the King of Sardinia; wishing to record in common their unanimous determination to conform to the ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire, according to which the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus are closed to foreign ships of war, so long as the Porte is at peace;

Their said Majesties, on the one part, and His Majesty the Sultan, on the other, have resolved to renew the Convention concluded at London on the thirteenth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and forty-one, with the exception of some modifications of detail which do not affect the principle upon which it rests.

In consequence, Their said Majesties have named for that purpose as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say, &c.:

Who have agreed upon the following Articles:—

I. His Majesty the Sultan, on the one part, declares that he is firmly resolved to maintain for the future the principle invariably established as the ancient rule of his Empire, and in virtue of which it has, at all times, been prohibited for the ships of war of foreign Powers to enter the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus; and that, so long as the Porte is at peace, His Majesty will admit no foreign ship of war into the said Straits.

And Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of all the Russias, and the King of Sardinia, on the other part, engage to respect this determination of the Sultan, and to conform themselves to the principle above declared.

II. The Sultan reserves to himself, as in past times, to deliver firmans of passage for light vessels under flag of war, which shall be employed, as is usual, in the service of the Missions of foreign Powers.

III. The same exception applies to the light vessels under flag of war which each of the Contracting Powers is authorised to station at the mouths of the Danube in order to secure the execution of the regulations relative to the liberty of that river, and the number of which is not to exceed two for each Power.

IV. The present Convention, annexed to the General Treaty signed at Paris this day, shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of four weeks, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth day of the month of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

[2.—*Convention between the Emperor of Russia and the Sultan, limiting their Naval Force in the Black Sea*[1].

In the Name of Almighty God.

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, taking into consideration the principle of the neutralisation of the Black Sea established by the preliminaries contained in the Protocol No. 1, signed at Paris on the twenty-fifth of February of the present year, and wishing, in consequence, to regulate by common agreement the number and the force of the light vessels which they have reserved to themselves to maintain in the Black Sea for the service of their coasts, have resolved to sign, with that view, a special Convention, and have named for that purpose, &c. :

Who have agreed upon the following Articles :—

I. The High Contracting Parties mutually engage not to have in the Black Sea any other vessels of war than those of which the number, the force, and the dimensions are hereinafter stipulated.

II. The High Contracting Parties reserve to themselves each to maintain in that sea six steam-vessels of fifty mètres in length at the line of flotation, of a tonnage of eight hundred tons at the maximum, and four light steam or sailing vessels of a tonnage which shall not exceed two hundred tons each.

III. The present Convention, annexed to the General

[1] Abrogated by the Treaty of March 13, 1871, and by a Convention of the same date between Russia and Turkey.

Treaty, signed at Paris this day, shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of four weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth day of the month of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.]

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